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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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For four centuries the agricultural development of Brazil has bee characterized by a series of speculative phases, each focused on a singl product, each centered upon a single region of Brazil. The first commercial product was sugar, the first region was the Recôncavo of Bahia. The agricultural society founded on the shore of the Baía de Todos os Santos in the mid-sixteenth century has persisted with an almost unbroke continuity for over four hundred years. It is with the geography of thi agricultural society that the present study is concerned.

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After sugar had ceased to bring a quick profit, the Brazilian center of effort shifted to other areas where economies of cotton, oran rice, cacao, and many lesser products opened the land and drew the ambitious and the desperate from the older settlements. Intermeshed with these phases of agricultural development were booms in the exploitative industries--in the mining of gold and diamonds and in the gathering of rubber. So characteristic have been these speculative convulsions, each followed by a shift to a new region, that they might almost seem to be the whole of Brazilian history and Brazilian reality--the nation might have been practicing a system of shifting cultivation on an immense scale with not only fields but whole regions abandoned as the yield declined. Yet this is not the case, for in each of these regions men remain and crops persist. The Recôncavo, long past its triumph,

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has a present day population of one million people, many of whom are still cultivating the original speculative crop, sugar cane. The Recôncavo is not unique in this respect, for coastal Pernambuco, eastern

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249 178 of the Paulista,[4] the aggressive business man and agricultural capitalist of São Paulo state. (2) The departure of the more adventurous elements from the sugar economy and the transference of the center of economic development from the Recôncavo have allowed the region to maintain its traditional practices and values and to preserve the colonial background of Brazilian agriculture. Although no single area can typify the entire constellation of the Brazilian agricultural regions, the Recôncavo does seem to epitomize the characteristics which underlie their diversity. It is in a sense a microcosm in which many of the agricultural problems which beset Brazil are isolated in their acute phases.

241 171 The Recôncavo does not, of course, reflect every aspect of agricultural life which may be found in Brazil. Not all the various crops are cultivated in the Recôncavo, although most of the important Brazilian crops are grown to some extent. There is no mixed agriculture such as is found in Rio Grande do Sul, nor are there vast pastoral enterprises like those of Mato Grosso or the remote Northeastern interior. There are few peasant proprietors such as are found in São Paulo. Its pattern of regional organization is not a duplicate of that of any other Brazilian region. In all, however, most of the characteristics of Brazilian agriculture and especially the systems of cultivation and the pattern of agricultural institutions are present in the Recôncavo microcosm. This region has several special advantages as the subject of a regional investigation of agricultural phenomena. It is small enough so that it can be studied thoroughly and in a limited period of time. It is large enough to have a diverse internal organization and conflicts of interest which can be analyzed. It is relatively detached so that the gross regional pattern is undisturbed by overlapping and is easy to observe.

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[13] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage—usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

• [121] [131] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use—a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

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121 131 [311] separate them from the manifestly non-Recôncavo areas of the surrounding zone. This limit of twenty per cent of the total area in agricultural land use corresponded rather closely to the outer boundary of a compact group of twenty-one municípios, and as a tentative regional concept, these twenty-one municípios were considered to be the Recôncavo.[5] The area of the region thus defined is 4,827 square miles (12,500 square kilometers), about equal to the size of the state of Connecticut.

121 241 Purpose and Procedure. The primary purpose of the research upon which this monograph has been based was to analyze, from a geographical point of view, the structure and the functional organization of agriculture within the Recôncavo. It is not within the present scope to make a detailed comparison of the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo with those of the rest of the nation. However, because of the general unity of the Brazilian agricultural system and the special relationship between the Recôncavo and the origins of the system, a study of the agriculture of the Recôncavo microcosm is a study of many of the basal aspects of Brazilian agriculture.

241 127 Very little literature is presently available on the agricultural patterns of the Recôncavo. Certain general characteristics of the agriculture of the region may be deduced from the brief interpretations of maps of the 1948 production of sugar cane, tobacco, and manioc in the state of Bahia published by the Conselho Nacional de Geografia.[6] Indirect information may be gleaned from the general economic and agricultural histories of Brazil and from the sociological studies of the Brazilian northeast.[7] But comprehensive analysis based upon field or statistical study of the geographical patterns of agriculture of either the state of Bahia or of its nuclear region, the Recôncavo, are lacking.

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CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL SETTING

121 13 Introduction. The analysis of the physical setting of the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a background for the interpretation of agricultural phenomena. As such, it is particularly concerned with those physical elements--flat and rough lands, productive and unproductive soils, humid and dry climates, and exploitable wild vegetation--which bear directly upon crop cultivation and animal industry. The statistical and map information and the literature on these physical elements are very limited. The general procedure used in developing this analysis was to formulate inferences based upon these limited sources and then to confirm or modify the inferences by field observation.

13 The narrow coastal plain and tabular uplands, the humid and sub-humid climates, the soils, and the forest and scrub forest vegetation typical of the northeast of Brazil are also characteristic of the Recôncavo. However, the presence of a rift occupied by the Baía de Todos os Santos and by a compact lowland pocket has given these characteristic features a distinctive geographical pattern in the Recôncavo.

Transition is a basic feature of the physical setting in which the economic and social institutions of the northeast of Brazil have been developed. Throughout the Northeast there are profound environmental differences between the coast and the interior. Even in as restricted an area as the Recôncavo, the rapid transition from the humid coastal lowland to the drier interior upland is a significant element in the regional complex.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1960-1961) 1967 BCU1 Bahia Brasiliana BCU1
Vila Recôncavo

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Introduction

THE CULTIVATION of sugar cane, and the production of sugar, rum, and molasses, was one of the first commercial enterprises of the New World, following closely upon the heels of the discovery and exploration of the Americas. In many of the east coast lowlands, where the Portuguese, Spanish, English, and French did not find the metallic El Dorado they sought, they settled down to the extraction of white gold through an agricultural medium. Sugar cane was found to be an ideal crop for the rich soils and the climate of the tropical and semitropical bayoulike lowlands of Brazil, the Caribbean Islands, the Guianas, and later of Louisiana and Florida. Sugar was gaining in popularity throughout Europe at this time, and in the early days of European exploitation of the New World there was a rapidly growing sugar market in Europe, providing extraordinary returns for those who had sugar to sell.

Wherever sugar cane took hold in the New World, there arose a distinct socioeconomic pattern. This pattern, whether in the Portuguese, Spanish, English, or French colonies, was marked by certain traits. The first of these was large landholding. Sugar planters possessed large tracts of land, usually received as grants from their respective colonial governments. Sugar-cane cultivation was done on a large scale and seldom engaged in by small farmers or peasants.

Everywhere sugar cane was grown, its cultivation was the scene of the growth of large, aristocratic families whose members were interested in and took part in colonial government, politics, the professions, and the church. Sugar-cane planters built large mansions on their plantations and

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1987 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011
Vila Recôncavo

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created a tradition of gracious living, of literature and learning, of opulence, hospitality, and ostentation.

The European did not attempt to do the agricultural labor himself but quickly put the Indians to work. When Indians proved unsuccessful as plantation laborers, the planters seized upon African slaves, who shortly became the third most important trait of the sugar-cane way of life. With the addition of the African to the scene, there grew another strong tradition among the sugar-cane planters, a tradition of paternalism and noblesse oblige toward their Negro slaves.

The cultivation of sugar cane, over a period of two hundred and more years, developed into a remarkably stable way of life and, in spite of a long history of good times mixed with depressions, became firmly entrenched in the areas where it was possible to grow it. For centuries it was a family enterprise, based on slavery, and generation after generation exploited the same plantation with the same crop, to which they developed a strong loyalty. There are few instances where, once sugar cane was planted, it has given way to other crops, even though it has not always provided the extraordinary monetary returns it gave two or three centuries ago.

During the nineteenth century, a series of important changes took place throughout the Americas which affected this very stable way of life and modified the traditional culture patterns that had been built up over a long period of time. First was the general movement during the century to abolish slavery, the very basis of New World sugar-cane cultivation. Following abolition of slavery there were also changes in the colonial governments, and, in general, the position of the aristocratic sugar planters was challenged. The exact sequence of events and their political results differed from colony to colony, but in general the same outlines were observed wherever sugar cane was grown.

More important than all of these changes, however, was the modification of the sugar industry itself at the end of the nineteenth century, which, to a great extent, hinged on the social and political changes already mentioned. In addition, competition among the various sugar-cane areas was leading to experiments with new types of machinery and refining techniques, with the hope of securing an improved product and consequently a larger share of the world sugar market. The introduction of steam-powered machinery made possible the

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creation of the large central sugar mill, a process which was speeded up by the loss of slave labor and the need to mechanize in order to make up for a shortage of labor. Thus the "factory-in-the-field" came to the sugar-cane industry and set off a series of changes in the former sugar-cane way of life which reached beyond the sugar-cane plantations into regional economics, into the structure of local communities, and into the social class system. It implied a more modern and far greater capital structure for the sugar industry, different types of relations between employer and employee, and the growth of a body of skilled workmen and office workers.

Finally, in the twentieth century, there are changes, everywhere apparent in the Western world, which have greatly modified the old traditional patterns of cane-growing areas. Cities are growing with remarkable rapidity; transportation is greatly improved. The radio, cinema, newspapers, magazines, schools, health posts, and more efficient national and state government action--all these and many other influences and modern trends have reached down deep into the economics, the social structure, individual and family life, and the religion and politics of the cane-growing areas.

In fact, two stages can be distinguished in the change of New World sugar-cane plantation organization since the early nineteenth century. First there was the engenho (in Brazil), or ingenio (in the Spanish-speaking colonies), the family-owned and -directed plantation and sugar mill combination.[1] Here the cane was grown and milled on the same nonmechanized plantation, where labor was provided by Negro slaves, while animal and sometimes water power was employed for milling. Paternalism, mutual rights and obligations, and a sense of noblesse oblige distinguished the relations between the planters and their slave laborers.

The second stage in the sugar-cane plantation organization is characterized by the opposite of all these traits and has been well described in Puerto Rico.[2] Land ownership has

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1. Hereafter, the term "plantation" will be used to designate the engenho; it should be understood that, in each instance, the reference is to the family-owned and -directed plantation and sugar mill combination. (Editor's note.)

2. Sidney W. Mintz, Cañamelar: The Contemporary Cul-

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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passed out of family hands and into the hands of large-scale corporations, the actual owners of which are most often absentee. Administration is in the hands of corporation employees and specialists. The field hands and millworkers are employees of a large, impersonal corporation, basing their rights on labor laws and labor unions rather than on paternalism and traditional family obligations. The corporate, central, mechanized mill, which is the center of a large corporate agricultural enterprise, is larger than any of the old plantation types and far more efficient. Its operations are based upon the cooperative efforts of agricultural, mechanical, and chemical specialists. Transportation and communications are better, and factory towns of the new type feel the pull of modern urban patterns more strongly than did the old plantation nuclei.

Yet these influences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have not been felt with equal intensity throughout the American sugar-producing regions. In limited areas, large sugar mills owned and operated by powerful corporations, with veritable factory towns, may be found. In other sugar-producing areas the transition is less complete, and many patterns out of the traditional past of the areas have persisted and have been adjusted to new conditions.

The northeast coast of Brazil took part in this widespread tradition of sugar-cane cultivation. The first region of Brazil to be settled, the northeast coast is often known as the cradle of Brazilian civilization. For many years it was the most important part of the Portuguese colony, economically, socially, and politically. Sugar cane was introduced shortly after the first successful colonization in the mid-sixteenth century and became the basis for the economic, social, and political power of the region.

The golden age of this regional, large-scale sugar-cane plantation culture occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was a colorful and affluent period which holds a great nostalgia for many Brazilians. This regional culture has been admirably described by several Brazilian authors. As early as 1700, Antonil, a Jesuit priest, wrote a detailed description of the physical appearance of the early

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ture of a Rural Puerto Rican Proletariat (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951).

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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sugar-cane plantations and mills, of the techniques of cane cultivation and milling, and of the opulent way of life of the plantation owners.[3] More recently, Gilberto Freyre has given us a vivid picture of plantation life in this region during the colonial and empire periods; he describes the relations of the masters in their "big houses" (casas grandes) with the slaves in their huts (senzalas).[4] In addition, such Brazilian historians as Wanderley de Araujo Pinho[5] and Manuel Diegues, Jr.,[6] have added significantly to our picture of the way of life in the region during the early periods. Out of these historical materials emerges the picture of a well-integrated, stable society, based upon wealth from sugar, in which the aristocratic, landholding and slave-owning families were economically, socially, and politically dominant.

The sugar-cane culture of the northeast Brazilian coast kept step with the developments in the industry throughout the Americas. In 1888 slavery was abolished in Brazil, affecting the labor situation severely. One year later came the end of the Brazilian empire and the formation of the republic. In the republic the church and state were separated, and the position of the nobility of the empire, who in this region were sugar planters, was challenged. By 1900 the corporate central mill had been introduced to the region, thereby causing a series of far-reaching changes in the over-all regional culture.

However, in northeastern Brazil there are local areas which are in various degrees of change between the two major stages outlined above, that is, between the family-owned plantation and the highly industrialized, corporate, absentee-owned, land-factory system. The Recôncavo area of the state of Bahia in which this study was undertaken, for example, contains several large sugar factories (usinas), but even on the largest of these there is still a maximum of family tra-

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3. Andre João Antonil, Cultura e opulencia do Brasil (Bahia, 1950).

4. Gilberto Freyre, The Masters and the Slaves (New York, 1946).

5. J. Wanderley de Araujo Pinho, Historia de um engenho do Recôncavo, 1552-1944 (Rio de Janeiro, 1946).

6. Manuel Diegues, Jr., O banguê nas alagoas (Rio de Janeiro, 1949).

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*249 ditions and of paternalism. Here, the privately owned plantation is also still an important element.

In the community on which the present study focuses, there is a modern sugar factory or usina, but control by the factory of the entire process, from cane planting and harvesting to milling, is far from complete. Although the factory, in this case a family corporation, has bought up six neighboring plantations, at least half its supply of sugar cane comes from individual, family-owned plantations. Owners of these plantations, which have conserved their original boundaries, are often descendants of the aristocratic landholders of the past, and many of their workers are descendants of slaves who lived on the same plantations.

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*249 In this community, changes in sugar-producing technology have not reached down into the actual cane cultivation on the plantations. Emphasis has been on the improvement of milling techniques, the further refinement of sugar-cane juice, and the perfection of the finished product by the central mill. But the agricultural methods--planting, cultivation, harvesting, and transportation--have remained relatively unchanged.

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571 Most important of all, with the retention of these older techniques has gone the retention to a very great degree of the old accompanying social system. The present social system tends to follow the old, traditional, family-oriented, slaveholding complex. The pattern of face-to-face interpersonal relations, developed during centuries of sugar-cane monoculture based on slavery, persists in a modified form. Although the relations between workers and owner on these family plantations are now those of employee and employer, and not slave and owner, there is still the highly personal, intimate relationship based upon mutual rights and obligations and a sense of the obligations of nobility. Even the usina system perpetuates this paternalism to a high degree.

121 The present work is a "community study" in the full sense of the term as it is understood today in social anthropology. It is primarily a descriptive analysis of one community in the sugar-producing region of northeastern Brazil, but it is conceived within the framework of the historical sequence outlined above.

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

2: Hutchinson E-4,8 (1950-1951) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

VILA RECÔNCAVO

2. History of the Town

A STRANGER newly arrived in the town of Vila Recôncavo might justifiably question the reasons for its existence, since it almost seems to be an island in a vast sea of sugar cane. The daily life of the town dwellers, who are fishermen, artisans, and county officials, apparently has little to do with the rural area. In order to understand the separateness of the town and the rural area, it is necessary to investigate the history of both. For, although Vila Recôncavo now appears to be sharply cut off from the life of the plantations and the sugar mill, it has been in the past closely bound up with the fortunes of the rural landowners and is still directly affected by the rural area.

The history of this area began during the governorship of Mem de Sá, which lasted from 1557 to 1574. Mem de Sá was the third governor general of the new Portuguese colony of Brazil. The capital of the colony was the city of Salvador, which was settled successfully in 1549 in the second of two attempts. By the time of Mem de Sá, the back part of the Bay of All Saints remained to be wrested from the Indians to complete the colonization of the Recôncavo, a task to which he dedicated himself and which he accomplished in a few years. As new areas were conquered, the land was divided among the favored few in the form of land grants (sesmarias). Mem de Sá took as his own land grant three and a half leagues of coastline extending four leagues inland, plus two islands. The eastern tip of this land grant is now Vila Recôncavo, and the remainder falls into the county of Purificação. Mem de Sá erected one of the largest and best plantations of the colony here, which "he esteemed as much for its value and income

3s Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1961) 1963 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

ties between Negroes and whites on these colonial plantations. All writers have mentioned the frequency of sexual relations between the white plantation owners and their female slaves. Slavery was not a humane institution in Brazil or elsewhere, but in Brazil relations between the slave and the master were of a more personal nature than in other regions where slavery existed in the New World.

By the middle of the last century, the West Indies and other regions of the world were competing with the Brazilian north-east for the world sugar market; and the abolition of slavery in 1888 caused difficulties of labour supply on these plantations. The sugar industry no longer provided the great wealth that it had in the past, and many of the old plantations were abandoned or sold to large commercial companies who installed modern equipment for large-scale sugar production. Plantation slaves became wage labourers, and the old traditional patterns of behaviour between the Negro slave and the white plantation-owning aristocrat began to disappear, to be replaced by an impersonal employee-employer relationship in keeping with the new way of life. Yet many patterns persist from the days of the old plantation system. Many of the descendants of the aristocratic plantation owners try to preserve the old traditions. They are proud of their family names, and large aristocratic families are still important in the economic and social life of the region. In many rural localities, there are still plantations where the relations between the workers and the owners are highly personalized, as they were in the past, and where customs and traditions formed during the period of opulence and slavery continue, if modified, by modern conditions. Throughout this part of Brazil, the relations between people of different racial groups have been influenced by the large proportion of Negroes in the population, by the importance of slavery in the relatively recent past, and by the particular form which the relations between the Negro slave and the European master took on the plantations.

11. The community with which the present article is concerned is called Vila Recôncavo; it is a real town situated in the zone known as the Recôncavo which surrounds Salvador, the capital of the State of Bahia, and which borders on the Bay of All Saints, extending inland from the shores of the bay some 30 miles on the northern side, and considerably less on the southern side. The Recôncavo was characteristic of the whole north-eastern plantation region. The Portuguese who settled in Salvador in 1549 recognized the value of these lands around the new city and the Bay of All Saints for sugar production. The third governor of Bahia, Mem de Sá (1557–74),

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/For a general theoretical background to the study of "race" and related pheno
see category 116, pp. v-viii, xi-xiii, xix-lvi, lix, lxi-lxxi, lxxiii-lxxxiii, 3./

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At the same time, if the colonizing venture in Brazil was to succeed, a sufficient population, either European or closely identified with the European, was a necessity.[4] But a shortage of man-power existed in the mother-country. A small number of Portuguese were seeking to establish themselves on a widely extended and constantly expanding frontier. The colonial ventures in India and other areas of the East, where the Portuguese held an irregular coast line fifteen thousand miles long,[5] were draining the mother-country of her quite limited population, depleted as it already was from centuries of war with the Moors. The inhabitants of Portugal at the beginning of the reign of Dom Manoel the Venturesome (1495) are given as only one million.[6] During the thirty years from 1497 to 1527, three hundred and twenty ships are said to have transported to India, "between soldiers and passengers," eighty thousand persons.[7] Some of these returned to Portugal, but most of them remained. Still, Albuquerque complained of the insufficient number of men furnished for his conquests in the East.[8]

The general movement of rural population into Lisbon, drawn by the expansion of overseas trade, had at that time so depleted the supply of agricultural laborers in Portugal, particularly in the southern provinces, that Africans were being imported in considerable numbers to supply the short-

[4] In 1612 Diogo de Vasconcellos in a letter to the Portuguese king complained that without increased population "mal se poderá remediar nem povoar tão larga costa" (Manoel Bomfim, *O Brasil* [São Paulo, 1935], p. 11).

[5] Albert G. Keller, *Colonisation* (Boston, 1908), p. 108.

[6] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[7] Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de historia americana* (São Paulo, n.d.), p. 21, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[8] F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2 vols.; London, 1894), I, 305–6.

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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[13]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

[13] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-casts* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mamaluca* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[30] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerers. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[31] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

[30] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indigenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

[31] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[22] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[23]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[24] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[25] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[26]

In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

[22] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[23] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[24] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[25] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[26] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

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Short of a racial census, an adequate statistical statement of the racial composition of Bahia would probably require an extended sampling of the population in various parts of the city—a procedure not feasible under the limits of this study. Samples readily obtainable at the numerous festivals such as Segunda Feira do Bomfim, Conceição da Praia, the Vespers of Reis, etc., are not practical for the reason that participation of one or another of the ethnic components is ordinarily out of proportion to its size in the general population. But at Carnival, when nearly the entire population frequents the public thoroughfares, this difficulty disappears. A new obstacle arises, however, in the form of a considerable infiltration of population from surrounding areas. And since the whites are ordinarily from the upper-income groups and consequently more able to travel, the white percentage of the city's population is probably at that time swollen beyond its normal proportion. The "Micarêta," or second Carnival, held one week after Easter, avoids this latter disadvantage. Of five thousand people noted among the participants in the "Micarêta" for 1936, the racial percentages appeared to be those given in Table 5.

Thus one can perhaps confirm the common-sense judgment of Bahian citizens to the effect that at least half, and perhaps more, of the population is now noticeably mixed, that both biologically "pure" whites (but not "whites" in the social sense) and biologically "pure" Africans are relatively few in number.

Some notion of the change in physical characteristics by generations, at least among members of the lower classes, may be had from a study of five hundred cases of mothers and their offspring applying at Bahia's free children's

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CHAPTER XI

BLACK AND WHITE AT BAHIA

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THE foregoing chapters have dealt with some of the consequences, in one part of the New World, of what has been the greatest population movement in all history, namely, the series of migrations associated with the expansion of western Europe. The Portuguese, with whom we are here particularly concerned, were in the forefront of this outward movement which now for over five centuries has been bringing European peoples and European cultures into intimate contact with native peoples and native cultures all over the habitable world. Park,[1] McKenzie,[2] and other writers have pointed out in some detail the chain of circumstances occasioned by this expansion which, in fact, has ushered in all that is peculiarly characteristic of the modern world.

The expansion of Europe is a distinct historical process. It constitutes an era of world-history which had a definite beginning and which, as Park has pointed out,[3] is now at or quite near an end. It has, therefore, a unitary character which makes it a thing that can be studied like any other natural object. Moreover, it is subject to comparison; simi-

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[1] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 57–85; and in Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii* (Chicago, 1938), Introduction.

[2] R. D. McKenzie, "Industrial Expansion and the Interrelations of Peoples," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter, pp. 19–33.

[3] Lind, *op. cit.*, pp. x–xi.

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lar movements have occurred during recorded history: the Arab march across northern Africa and into the Iberian peninsula, for example, as well as the Mohammedan migrations through the passes of the Himalayas onto the plains of northern India, and the so-called "barbarian" invasions of the Roman Empire. The expansion of Europe is not a phenomenon so unique that it cannot profitably be compared with other similar incidents of human dispersion.

The foregoing chapters have been oriented with reference to this general point of view, but they dealt specifically with one locus of European settlement. They sought to explore a particular instance of racial and cultural contact and to describe it in such terms as will perhaps make it comparable with other cases of racial and cultural contact in other parts of the world.

Peculiarly significant are the facts that, although probably more Africans were imported into Brazil as one of the consequences of Portuguese settlement than into any other region of the New World, and they at one time constituted, in such centers of concentration as Bahia, a majority of the population, the Negro as a racial unit, like the Brazilian Indian before him, is gradually, but to all appearances inevitably, disappearing. The general tendency throughout Brazilian history has been to absorb, gradually but eventually, all ethnic elements into the dominant European stock.

It is true that the mixed-bloods are increasing, but their increase appears to be at the expense of the African and not of the European. Nor is there growing up in Bahia a relatively permanent mixed racial stock, like the Macanese in China or the "Cape Coloured" in South Africa. Instead, the mixed-bloods appear to be gradually absorbing the

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blacks, while they themselves are increasingly being incorporated into the predominantly European stock.

In the development of this general tendency to amalgamate and to assimilate all ethnic minorities, the circumstances and conditions of settlement played a significant role. In Brazil, unlike in the case of the English settlement of the United States, few women, as we have seen, emigrated from Europe during the first century of colonization. Until stable conditions and a normal distribution of the sexes were achieved, cohabitation with native Indian women commonly occurred. In this way a population large enough to colonize successfully the new frontier was assured, in spite of the fact that Portugal, because of the drain upon her slender resources to enable her to conquer and hold the vast empire in the East, was unable to provide it. When Thomé de Souza in 1549 set up the first permanent settlement at Bahia, he found already on the site a numerous body of mixed-blood descendants of Portuguese sailors and adventurers who for some years had been living with the Indians. As far as the limited number of females made it possible, Thomé de Souza's men took mates from among these mixed-bloods; others cohabited with pure Indian women. These interracial unions, as in Goa (India) and elsewhere throughout the Portuguese dominions in the East, were subsequently encouraged as a matter of policy by the Portuguese state. Moreover, the Catholic church "regularized them into Christian marriage," thereby lending its powerful sanction to interracial crossing and bringing parents and children within the control and discipline of the church. In other words, a tradition of intermarriage became firmly fixed in the colonial mores.

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The considerable body of *mestiços* which grew up are said

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to have been better adapted to a tropical climate than their Portuguese fathers and thus to have materially aided the survival of the European stock with which they, by reason of its prestige, came largely to identify themselves and into which they were gradually absorbed.

This case of interbreeding and intermarriage during the precarious days of settlement is not unique in the history of European expansion. In fact, in those instances in which the sex ratio was out of balance, it seems to have been universal. The settlement of the United States, at least in large part, was not one of these cases. But the settlement of South Africa by the Dutch, and of India by the English, as we have noted, were accomplished under similar circumstances. In each of these cases the mixed-bloods were at first accorded the treatment and the career usually falling to the progeny of fathers whose parental sentiments do not run counter to caste sentiments laid down in the local mores. On the frontier new societies are emerging, and the mores which grow up and crystallize into fixed customs and traditions are a result of the unwitting and unplanned responses of human beings to the needs of their time and circumstance.

The similarity, however, between these three cases of European settlement—in India, South Africa, and Brazil—gradually disappeared with the subsequent development of the respective colonies. In India circumstances altered the original situation until intermixture and intermarriage came seriously to be frowned upon and eventually to lose all moral sanction. The mixed-bloods came to be despised and finally to be outcast from both parental groups. In South Africa, when Cape Colony had become fairly established and the Dutch housewives coming in from Europe had succeeded to a considerable extent in getting rid of the na-

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tive concubines, the attitude of this community also changed, until "at the present time there is probably nowhere a more grim determination to preserve the integrity of their racial stock than there is among the descendants of those first Dutch settlers and of the French Huguenot and German immigrants who followed and fused with them to form the Boer people."[4]

But in Brazil the attitudes toward intermixture and intermarriage which grew up during the colonial period in response to the exigencies of the frontier seem not to have been subsequently seriously altered. Instead, the tendency to absorb all diverse ethnic elements appears to have been a persistent character of Brazilian society throughout the four centuries of its existence and is characteristic of it today.

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The reasons for this deviation in Brazil are not very clear, and it continues, therefore, to be a problem. One of the difficulties in the way of its solution is the comparatively meager amount of information available on the "social history" of Brazil. Until quite recently, when such intellectuals as Gilberto Freyre became interested in digging out of the voluminous record of the past some understanding of the human relations characteristic of the colonial and imperial periods, Brazilian historians had limited their attention largely to the political, and especially to the administrative, aspects of Brazilian history. There is extant, of course, a considerable literature from the pens of foreign visitors, among whom were several able scientists, artists, and scholars like, for example, J. B. von Spix, C. F. P. von Martius, J. B. Debret, Prince Maximilian Wied-Neuwied, Maurice Rugendas, Henry W. Bates, Louis Agassiz, Richard F. Burton, Prince Adalbert, and L. F. Tollenare, which often con-

[4] Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," *op. cit.*, pp. 67–68.

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tains pertinent observation and comment. But, unfortunately, the work of these men is almost entirely limited to the nineteenth century. The accounts which deal with an earlier period—for instance, the *Cartas* of Vilhena and of Nobrega, and the works of such able historians as Robert Southey, Heinrich Handelmann, and Francisco A. de Varnhagen—do not furnish sufficient information to resolve our problem. Voluminous records in numerous public depositories still await the careful sifting of competent scholars.

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It may be that, by the time European women had arrived in any considerable number in Bahia, miscegenation, aided by the decimation occasioned by the rigors of slavery and the introduction of European diseases, had already proceeded to the point where the Indian, as a minority group, had disappeared, or had almost disappeared, so that the problem of serious competition with Indian concubines did not present itself to the incoming Portuguese housewives.

Large numbers of Africans were, however, by this time coming in, and they continued for generations to arrive. There were at least some females among them. No intermarriage with African women, as far as we know, at first took place. Miscegenation, however, was extensive. And the mixed-bloods, as we have seen, were treated with tolerance and consideration. Numerous unions, especially with mulatto women, were subsequently entered into and were socially accepted.

It may have been that one circumstance favorable to a deviant termination of race relations in Brazil was the contact which the Portuguese, unlike the English and the Dutch, had with the Moors. From the customs and traditions of their conquerors, the Portuguese, during the several centuries of Moorish domination of the Iberian peninsula,

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took over at least three cultural elements whose presence in the mores of colonial Brazil may be significant for our problem: the practice of concubinage, the subordinate position of woman in the household, and the comparative absence of color consciousness.

It may be that the Portuguese, like the Moors and other Mohammedans, were, as several commentators have said, a "color-blind" people; that is, awareness of color and other racial differences was not so pronounced with them as with us. It is probably true that the *conceptions* laid down in the culture materially influence the *perceptions* which individuals have.

Perhaps one reason the Portuguese in the New Country and their descendants cohabited with individuals from other races and interbred so extensively was that such behavior had long been common in the Old Country, where their ancestors had taken over from the Moors oriental customs tolerant of plural marriage. Even when Orientals exclude the children of concubines from the legitimate family in an attempt to preserve its status, emphasis is upon preserving status rather than purity of race.

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Concubinage, or *mancebia*, as it is known in Bahia, seems to have been quite common throughout the history of Brazil. It appears always to have been more or less socially sanctioned and accepted into the mores. Divorce is illegal, and many marriages are made for family convenience. It is not rare today in Bahia for a man with a legal wife and family to keep in separate establishments one or more *amantes*.[5] The

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[5] In one reported instance there are five; in another, eight. Usually the man, owing to the expense involved, is well to do; the women are from the lower strata. For instance, a wealthy and prominent intellectual figure lives most of the time apart from his legal wife with a mulatto woman who is intelligent, "attractive," and has traveled (with him) in France, Belgium,

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high society of the city in spite of my letters of introduction and my efforts to enter several homes."[8]

Another important question to raise is, "Why did not the structure of Brazilian slave society, like that of the United States, pass over into caste?" The situation here is somewhat more clear. The function of caste appears to be that of preserving inviolate the racial integrity of a dominant group. Caste in India apparently arose in an attempt on the part of incoming Aryan peoples to preserve the status of their families against the consequences of intermixture with the conquered aboriginal tribes.[9] The prohibition of intermarriage excluded almost completely from the more intimate social contacts individuals from groups considered undesirable.

In Brazil the characteristic tendency has always been just the reverse: namely, to incorporate eventually all ethnic minorities into the dominant group. The contact of the Portuguese settlers with the imported Africans was, of course, originally that of master and slave. But out of the slave system which grew up there gradually emerged a moral order in which most whites and blacks, as we have seen, came to share a common life on an intimate, personal basis.

Men come together ordinarily because they are useful to one another. Under these circumstances they may regard each other for a long time as mere utilities. But human beings do not live for long, like plants, in relations that are merely symbiotic. For men, unlike plants, communicate. In this way they come to know one another's minds and to be responsive to one another's attitudes and sentiments. They find themselves, eventually, living as it were, each in the mind of all his neighbors. It is in this way that a moral order grows up in which,

[8] L. F. Tollenare, "Notas dominicais tomadas durante uma residencia no Brasil, 1816–1818" (portion relative to Pernambuco translated by Alfredo de Carvalho from the unpublished French manuscript), *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambucano*, No. 61 (1905), pp. 129 and 230.

[9] Sir Herbert H. Risley, *The People of India* (2d ed.; Calcutta, 1915), pp. 264–65.

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under the happiest circumstances, the individual feels himself constrained only by those obligations which he freely accepts or imposes upon himself.

It is characteristic of such a moral order that it is nonrational. That means that it is not devised to protect any special interest, to serve any policy, and has no ulterior purposes of any sort. On the contrary, it arises in response to the natural claims which one individual makes upon another, as soon as he recognizes that other individual as human like himself.[10]

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Manumission, as we have seen, extensively occurred from the first. And final emancipation came about as the culmination of a widespread liberation movement which had for years dominated the public mind. The Brazilian Negro was thus released from a servile status gradually and under circumstances which favored the continuance of intimate personal ties. Final emancipation was not, as in the United States, brought about as an incident of civil strife, and the race relations which had normally grown up under slavery were never exacerbated by a program of reconstruction imposed from without by armed conquest. The rise of the black and of the mixed-blood in Brazil has always had in its favor those sentiments and personal attachments which primary relations tend to develop.

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In Bahia there is probably little or no race prejudice in the sense in which that term is used in the United States. There are no castes based on race; there are only classes. This does not mean that there is nothing which might be properly called prejudice but that such prejudice as does exist is *class* rather than *caste* prejudice. It is the kind of prejudice which exists *inside* the ranks of the Negro in the United States, the amount and intensity of which is actually very great.

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That race prejudice has not arisen in Brazil is perhaps due

[10] Park, Introduction to Bertram W. Doyle, *The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South* (Chicago, 1937), pp. xiv–xv.

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to the fact that the Brazilian white has never at any time felt that the black or the mixed-blood offered any serious threat to his status. The past and present experiences of the ethnic groups have not been such as would call out in the whites feelings of fear, distrust, apprehension, dread, resentment, or envy, all of which probably enter into the attitude of race prejudice. Besides, there has not been in Brazil that obscure sense of guilt which men sometimes feel toward those they have wronged or toward those by whom they themselves have been wronged. There have been few or no incidents which the Europeans resent and tend to construe as affronts or unwarranted aggressions and attacks; no events, like those attendant on our Civil War and its aftermath, which would stir the Europeans, arouse their feelings, and give to their conception of the Negro a new meaning and content. There are in Brazil no memories over which the whites brood like those which have been so strikingly called to our attention in a recent novel:

> Looking about her in that cold spring of 1866, Scarlett realized what was facing her and the whole South. . . . . The Yankees had the South prostrate. . . . . The South had been tilted as by a giant malicious hand, and those who had once ruled were now more helpless than their former slaves had ever been.
>
> Georgia was heavily garrisoned with troops and Atlanta had more than its share. The commandants of the Yankee troops in the various cities had complete power, even the power of life and death over the civilian population. . . . . They could and did imprison citizens for any cause, or no cause, seize their property, hang them. They could and did harass and hamstring them with conflicting regulations about the operation of their business, the wages they must pay their servants, what they should say in public and private utterances and what they should write in newspapers. They regulated how, when and where they must dump their garbage and they decided what songs the daughters and wives of ex-Confederates could sing, so that the singing

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her, even in her dreams, and she dreaded worse terrors to come. Depressed by the helplessness of herself and her friends, of the whole South, it was not strange that she often remembered during these days the words which Tony Fontaine had spoken so passionately:

"By God, Scarlett, it isn't to be borne! And it won't be borne!"[11]

Brazilian society nowhere passed through a comparable period of social upheaval in which a threatened reversal of the status structure elicited such deep-seated fear and apprehension that generations later it is so vividly recalled by the descendants of those who lived through it. The rape of white women by colored men, either real or fancied, has been unknown in Brazil. There has not been anything remotely comparable to the conquest of our South by northern armies, the imposition, for years, of onerous political control from without, and the consequent development of feelings of resentment and bitterness which, lacking normal expression (by reason of the North's formidable power), in the form of effective aggression toward the actual offending object, became displaced upon the more or less helpless Negro when northern force was withdrawn. On the contrary, the relations between the races in Brazil have always been, to a considerable extent, intimate and cordial. The moral order of the Bahian *engenhos*, which, as we have seen, was organized largely on a familial and personal basis, has persisted relatively undisturbed down to the present day, and the members of the different races have, by way of personal feelings and sentiments, long identified themselves with each other, entered into each other's personal experiences, and come to appreciate their common human character. Instead of conceiving the Negro as an abstract object, the Bahian white tends to think of him as João or Maria and as being wholly human like himself.

[11] Margaret Mitchell, *Gone with the Wind* (New York, 1938), pp. 652–57.

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It is true that the Europeans at Bahia, like all groups, are ethnocentric, and individual whites share a general feeling of the superiority of their group. Many of them are adverse to the (to them) strange and bizarre behavior represented by the *candomblé* ritual and other African cultural survivals. In some minds at least these acts have taken on a disgusting and even offensive character and may have evoked deeply rooted antipathies. However, these antagonisms are directed at *cultural* rather than at *racial* variations, and they tend to disappear when the Negro, as he is now rapidly doing, gives up his identification with African cultural forms and becomes assimilated into the European world. The antipathy does not extend, therefore, to the Negro as such but rather to the *Africano*, the foreigner, he who constitutes an alien cyst in the social organism. This attitude is not greatly different from that characteristic of descendants of the first English settlers in the United States toward recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who for a time continue to live much to themselves and to cling tenaciously to Old World customs and traditions.

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One might note that the Brazilian case of racial contact definitely supports Faris' challenge of a popular assumption which, confusing the customary with the natural, maintains that race prejudice is instinctive and hereditary.[11] If race prejudice were organic, it obviously would appear in all cases of racial contact. If, then, we discover cases in which it does not appear, the hypothesis that race prejudice is instinctive is no longer valid.

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What we find, then, in Bahia is a multiracial class society.

[11] Ellsworth Faris, "The Natural History of Race Prejudice," in *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York and London, 1937), chap. xxxii, pp. 357 ff.

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At the same time, if the colonizing venture in Brazil was to succeed, a sufficient population, either European or closely identified with the European, was a necessity.[4] But a shortage of man-power existed in the mother-country. A small number of Portuguese were seeking to establish themselves on a widely extended and constantly expanding frontier. The colonial ventures in India and other areas of the East, where the Portuguese held an irregular coast line fifteen thousand miles long,[5] were draining the mother-country of her quite limited population, depleted as it already was from centuries of war with the Moors. The inhabitants of Portugal at the beginning of the reign of Dom Manoel the Venturesome (1495) are given as only one million.[6] During the thirty years from 1497 to 1527, three hundred and twenty ships are said to have transported to India, "between soldiers and passengers," eighty thousand persons.[7] Some of these returned to Portugal, but most of them remained. Still, Albuquerque complained of the insufficient number of men furnished for his conquests in the East.[8]

The general movement of rural population into Lisbon, drawn by the expansion of overseas trade, had at that time so depleted the supply of agricultural laborers in Portugal, particularly in the southern provinces, that Africans were being imported in considerable numbers to supply the short-

[4] In 1612 Diogo de Vasconcellos in a letter to the Portuguese king complained that without increased population "mal se poderá remediar nem povoar tão larga costa" (Manoel Bomfim, *O Brasil* [São Paulo, 1935], p. 11).

[5] Albert G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston, 1908), p. 108.

[6] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[7] Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de historia americana* (São Paulo, n.d.), p. 21, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[8] F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2 vols.; London, 1894), I, 305-6.

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age.[9] Such migration to Brazil as did occur so seriously affected Portugal that in 1720 King Dom João V issued a royal proclamation prohibiting further emigration.[10]

An indication of this population scarcity is the fact that seventeenth-century Portuguese law recognized "common-law" marriage (*casamento Conhoçudos*) as legally binding. There grew up throughout Portugal "a great tolerance for every kind of union from which there might result an increase in population." Even the church came to recognize *de juras* marriage, if consummated by sexual intercourse.[11]

A scarcity of European women in the East led Francisco d'Almeida not only to accept the fact that a considerable degree of intermixture was already taking place in the Indies but also deliberately to foster as a matter of administrative policy Portuguese unions with native women. "In every Portuguese settlement the married men rapidly became a class to themselves with special privileges; all petty offices were reserved for them, and in Goa all the lands belonging to the King—a very large part of the area—were divided among them."[12] This policy of encouraging unions with na-

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[9] H. Morse Stephens (*Portugal* [New York, 1903], p. 182) says that the population of Lisbon trebled in eighty years.

[10] The decree stated as its purpose the prohibition "of yearly migrations from this country to the *capitanias* of Brazil of so many people . . . . chiefly from the province of Minho, which from once being the most populous now finds itself without a sufficient number of people to cultivate the soil or to perform necessary services" (J. de A. Corvo, *Estudos sobre as provincias ultramarinas* [4 vols.; London, 1883–87], I, 15, quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 152 n.).

[11] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 179. *De juras* marriage was a simple ceremony "in which the mutual consent of both parties was affirmed on oath before a representative of the church without, however, the sacrament being given." See Alexandre Herculano, *Casamento civil* (Lisboa, 1907), pp. 30 ff.

[12] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550* (Westminster, 1899), p. 177; cf. Danvers, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

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tive women was similarly sponsored by the Dutch during their colonizing ventures in South Africa and in Java and later by the English in India—a policy which emerged in each case as a natural response to the actual conditions of settlement.

The first Dutch settlers in South Africa and in Java were, almost without exception, males who, in order to establish themselves on a racial and cultural frontier, took up with native women. The mixed-blood progeny of these unions was treated with tolerance and consideration and often sent to the Netherlands to be educated. It was only with the arrival of the Dutch housewives, after Cape Colony had been fairly established, that the attitude of the Dutch toward the mixed-bloods changed. Today there are probably few people in the world who oppose intermixture more vigorously than do the Boer descendants of these Dutch settlers.[13]

During the early years of English penetration in India intermarriage between the English and native Indians not only extensively took place but was encouraged as a deliberate policy by the English authorities. In 1678 the court of directors of the British East India Company wrote the president of Madras that

> the marriage of our soldiers to the native women of Fort St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense, and have been thinking for the future to appoint a *pagoda* to be paid to the mother of any child, that shall hereafter be born of any such future marriage, upon the day the child is christened, if you think this small encouragement will increase the number of such marriages.

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This policy in all probability did not so much initiate interracial crossing as recognize its existence in an informal

[13] Robert E. Park, "Race Relations and Certain Frontiers," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), pp. 67–68.

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state. Unions were not confined to the lower classes but extended into even the upper social ranks, not only of the English, but of other European nationalities as well.[14]

Miscegenation and interracial marriage are perhaps always incidental to the expansion of a racial frontier. As Park has pointed out: "Transplanting a people, like transplanting any other organism, is a ticklish business, and interbreeding is one way of successfully accomplishing the transition."[15]

Thus, the Brazilian society of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came to be founded largely upon families in which Indian or part Indian women were the consorts and mothers.[16] At least this was generally true of the lower classes, but it was by no means limited exclusively to them.[17]

These *de facto* unions were gradually "regularized by the church into Christian marriage," thus lending the powerful sanction of the ecclesiastical authority, chief guardian of the mores in a sacred society, to interracial crossing. The church was joined in this policy by the state, which legalized mixed unions. Thus, neither church nor state injected any "strain for consistency"[18] into the colonial mores which had grown up quite naturally in response to the exigencies of colonization but instead themselves offered support to the "definitions of the situation"[19] already laid down in the prevailing attitudes.

[14] See Cedric Dover, *Half-caste* (London, 1937), pp. 117 ff.

[15] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

[16] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[17] E.g., the *mameluco* descendants of Caramurú married into prominent families.

[18] See William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

[19] See W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior* (New York and London, 1937), pp. 8–9.

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The mating in Brazil of Portuguese men with native women was probably facilitated by the fact that many early colonizers were Moçarabes from southern Portugal, who had long been acquainted with the darker peoples and in whom "consciousness of race" was reputedly weak.[10] In fact, in some cases at least, African blood may have flowed in their veins.

It is possible that the first experience of the Portuguese with a darker race was the experience of a conquered people with their more swarthy conquerers. For the Moors, whose occupation of Portugal extended over more than five hundred years (711–1244), were perhaps darker in pigmentation than the Iberian peoples among whom, as lords of a conquered land, they settled. At least we know that their advance into the Iberian peninsula was led by the Berbers of northern Africa, whom Ripley describes as possessed of a slightly concave nose which in profile suggests the Negro, with hair varying from wavy to curly, beards rare, and body hair seldom heavy.[11] Ripley attributes their resemblance to the Negro to admixture with negroid tribes south of the Sahara.

If it is true that the Moors were of darker pigmentation than the Portuguese among whom they settled, men of dark hue had, at the time Brazil was colonized, been for centuries men of prestige in Portugal. They had brought in with them

[10] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 60. From the fifteenth century onward, Negroes were common even in Lisbon. Nicolau Clenard, French tutor of the (at that time) crown prince Dom Henrique, once wrote in a letter: "I believe there is in Lisbon a greater number of Moors and Negroes than of whites. There are nests of slaves in every house" (quoted from Domingos de Magalhães, *Os indígenas do Brasil*, by Luiz Anselmo da Fonseca, *A escravidão, o clero e o abolicionismo* [Bahia, 1887], p. 165).

[11] William Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe* (New York, 1899), pp. 277–78.

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a superior culture; were more learned in the arts and sciences. They had become the wealthy class who occupied the towns or lived in the principal castles and on the great estates. Consequently, it came to be considered an honor for Portuguese women to mate with them, and we know that such marriages often occurred, even among members of the royal family.[32] Thus, the Portuguese, long before the discovery of Brazil, were "accustomed to mixed unions and their offspring."[33]

If the Portuguese came to look upon the dark Moors, and the somewhat negroid Berbers among them, as objects of prestige and eventually as marriageable individuals, the importation into Portugal of African Negroes (who from 1433 on were introduced in considerable numbers,[34] particularly as agricultural laborers in the Algarves at that time almost depopulated by the long wars of the Moorish expulsion) would have found the Portuguese accustomed to associating on a basis of social equality with, or even being inferior to, people of dark color. Even a royal prince is known to have had intimate Negro associates, for King Affonso VI's chief delight as a boy, it is said, was to roam the streets of Lisbon "at the head of a troop of mulattoes and Negro slaves."[35] Traces of African descent are still today unmistakable in the population of Lisbon.[36]

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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seven-

[32] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of the Moors in Spain* (New York and London, 1886), pp. 48, 55, 247.

[33] Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[34] African slaves became so numerous that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, they were said to outnumber the free men of Lisbon.

[35] Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[36] Noted by Dr. Robert E. Park on a recent visit to Lisbon.

[SALVADOR]

/5/ Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. We likewise examined the [127] portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 In addition to these investigations and the compilation of [127] data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed; they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

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124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in
114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience.
127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

• 121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the
127 scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1)

[113] 1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.